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PLATE IV, 1 and 2

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778

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1. "Fore-stone" shrine (see p. 425) erected for Low Maki at Peterihi, typical of the ten shrines set up in connection with the monolith-Maki recently introduced on the Inferior Side of Vao.

2. Village street, showing stone walls surmounted by reed fences surrounding each house-enclosure. (*Speiser*, 3, *Plate* 15, *Fig.* 4)

[facing p. 39]

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reeds. The village paths, or streets, are thus lined on both sides with high fences pierced at intervals by entrances left solid at the bottom, both to keep out stray pigs and to keep in those belonging to the owner of the enclosure. The upper part of each entrance is usually open when the owner is at home, but can be blocked, when he so wishes, by a movable reed panel. No man ever enters the enclosure of another without invitation. Indeed, the general communism and publicity of life is counterbalanced by a very great sense of possessiveness about a man's actual home. There are, it is true, certain occasions when even this private spot may be rudely violated, but these are ritual occasions which in a description of everyday life may be left out of account. Within the enclosure are two courts. Firstly an outer court, containing the wife's house,[1] or, if there is more than one wife, a house for each. Here also live, in the same house with their mother, unmarried daughters as well as sons till these are able to dispense with her help. It is into this court that the entrance from the village street gives access. Behind this, partly separated from it except in the case of the very newly wed by another reed screen, is the inner court where is the husband's own house. With him live sometimes a young son or two, but these are usually provided for by the erection of a communal bachelors' house shared by closely related boys and unmarried youths, who may also have friends from other less closely related families to live with them. Both outer and inner court also contain storehouses for yams and yet other houses for the pigs, but valuable tuskers are always kept by the husband in the inner court. Cohabitation occurs only in the wife's house, never in the man's, for fear of pollution by menstrual blood, and never during the woman's menstrual period. There is a tendency, though it is by no means a set rule, for a rich man to gather his married sons around him in a larger compound composed of a number of enclosures with inner and outer court such as have just been described, and it is in these compounds that the bachelors' houses are built.

Lodges.

Besides dwelling-houses, each Vao village possesses a number of lodges,[2] or what in current anthropological literature are called club-houses, which in Vao are called *na-tamp*, in which the males of certain sections of the clan congregate and sometimes sleep. These are quite different from the *ghamal*, which belongs to the whole village, and are from one point of view the mortuary chapels of the family or group of families to which they belong. Each lodge is surrounded by a stone wall

[1] Houses are so constructed that the thatched roof reaches the ground on either side. For details of construction see construction of *ghamal*, p. 440. Ordinary dwelling-houses are similarly constructed but on a smaller scale.

[2] See p. 63.

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within which is also the family cemetery in which old men of high rank are buried. No women born outside the village (which, owing to clan exogamy, includes all wives and mothers of clan members) are allowed inside this enclosure, and those born within it (that is to say, the lodge-members' sisters and daughters) are only allowed in when specially invited on some errand by one of the senior members, or on certain ritual occasions.

This organisation into lodges will be fully described in the chapter on Social Organisation. Enough has been said now to enable us to enter the village without trespassing where we are not wanted and to understand something of what is going on.

Dress.

As we go up from the beach we shall have the opportunity first of observing native dress. As may be seen in the photograph of Kowu beach (Plate I), young boys and young girls go completely naked. When they are about six or eight years old, the boys start wearing a plaited string belt of soft material around their waists. This belt will have at first only a single coil, but as they grow older the number of coils increases till the string belt assumes quite lengthy proportions and may be wound as many as six or seven times around the waist. At about the age of puberty the boys put on a new garment. This is a penis-wrapper made out of a banana leaf stripped longitudinally in half with the midrib removed but leaving enough of the central fibre to withstand a certain amount of wear. This leaf is wound round and round the penis spirally, in such a way that the windings continue beyond the glans. This continuation of the wrapper is then drawn up over the string belt and finally tucked in behind it from above. The penis is thus held vertically upwards parallel to the central line of the abdomen, with the testicles completely exposed to view. This is the ordinary dress of youths not yet initiated. On initiation, the banana-leaf wrapper, called *nu-mba-nu-mbe*, is retained as an under-garment, but is now covered by a ceremonial penis-wrapper (*na-avu*) consisting of a flat strip of material plaited by women from thin strips of pandanus-palm leaf, dyed red and ornamented with designs in the dull yellow colour left by immersion in the juice of turmeric leaves. Both ends of the wrapper are so constructed as to leave a fringe of the same material, slit very fine so as to form tassels. This wrapper is wound round the penis in the same way as the underlying banana-leaf wrapper, and the tassels similarly tucked over and behind the plaited string belt. Over the string belt and tassels is now wound a broad bark-board belt called *na-tuve*, about six inches wide, made of the inner bark of a special tree sometimes covered with coconut fibre, wound round in super-imposed coils, which cover the abdomen from above the navel to the groin. This is in turn held in place by a plaited belt called *ne-tuw*, also made by women and in

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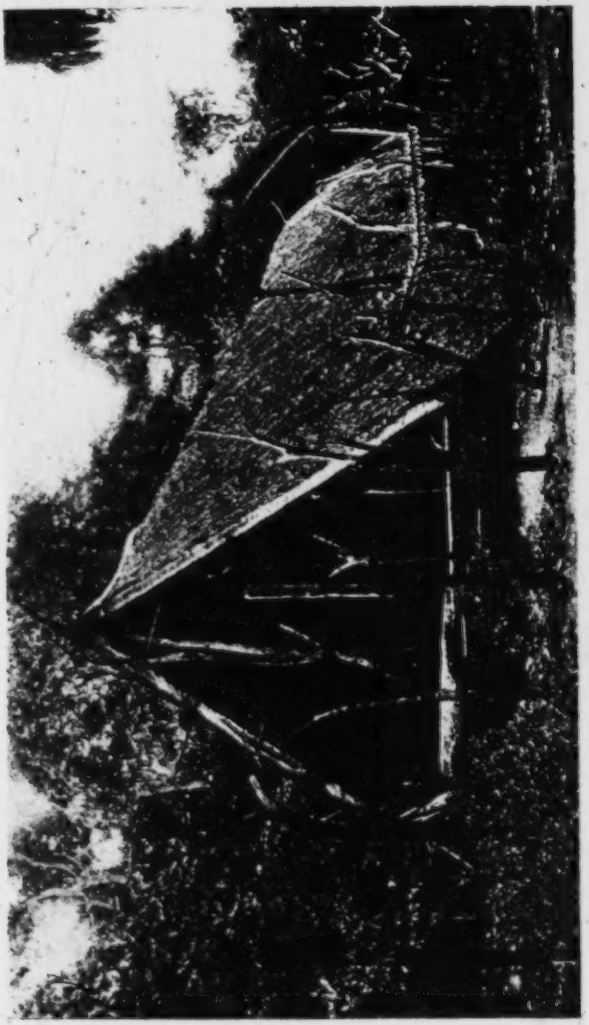

A Vao *ghumal* (*Speiser*, 3, *Plate* 15, *Fig.* 1). Note the dolmen outside, enclosed by a fence, and rack displaying the tusked jaws of boars sacrificed at its consecration

[facing p. 60]

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361 with the presentation of tusked boars. Here, men rule supreme, and here
535 the main sacrifices to the ancestors take place. This is the spot from which
562 each village is said to spring, and in all native accounts of the foundation of any village the construction of the dancing-ground is the founder's first act.

Ghamal.

346 Close to the dancing-ground is the largest building in the village, called *ghamal*.[1] This is the roofed counterpart of the dancing-ground, being the centre for all such business connected with the Maki as needs protection from the weather. This also is sacred to men, no woman being allowed, save on certain specified occasions, to set foot across the fence surrounding it. The word *ghamal* is clearly connected with the Banks Islands *gamal*, and the intimate association of this structure with the dancing-ground is seen in the use of the word itself, since in Atchin the corresponding word *amal* is actually used for the dancing-ground, while the Initiation Lodge, which in Atchin occupies the same position with regard to the dancing-ground as does the *ghamal* on Vao, is called *lol-hamal*, meaning "in the midst of the (*h*)*amal*." Variations of this same word are applied throughout Malekula and Ambrim alternatively for the dancing-ground or for the structure connected with it.[2] It is probably the same word as *Mal*, the title taken by the chief sacrificer in the Maki rites throughout this area. This title is connected with the verb *pal*, "to

[1] Usually combined with the indefinite article as *na-ghamal*.

[2] Instances of the use of this term for MEN'S-HOUSE or LODGE are:
Banks Islands, *gamal* (Codrington, Rivers).
Torres Islands, *gamel* (Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 185).
Oba, *gamali* (Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 232).
Santo (St. Philip's and St. James' Bay), *gamali* (ibid.).
" (Nogugu), *na-gamal*, *na-gomali* (Deacon, 3, p. 473).
" (" and Epi), *komal*, *komali*, *komel* (Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 233).
South Raga (Pornowol), *mal* (Tattevin, 1, 1927, p. 427).
Ambrim (Sulol), *himal* (Rivers, 3), *imal* (Deacon, 3, p. 512).
Malekula (Seniang), *na-amal* (Deacon, 4, glossary).
" (Lambumbu), (*g*)*amal* (ibid.).
" (Lagalag), *hamal* (ibid.).
" (Big Nambas), *ghamal* (ibid.).
" (Port Sandwich), *amil* (Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 233).
" (Aulua), *n'amal*, *n'amel* (ibid.).
West Epi (Burumba), *gomali* (Deacon, 3, p. 504).

Instances of the use of the term for DANCING-GROUND all come from Malekula and Ambrim, and are:
Malekula (Atchin), *amal* (where *lol-hamal* means "Initiation Lodge") (Layard, 9).
" (Wala), *n'amil* (ibid.).
" (Lambumbu), *na-amel* (Deacon, 4, glossary).
" (Lagalag), *hamil* (="sacred place of clan") (ibid.).
Ambrim (Sulol), *hemel* (where *himel* means Men's-House) (Rivers, 3).

In the Small Islands of Malekula, other than Vao, this meaning has become extended yet further, in that many VILLAGES themselves are called *emil*, with a qualifying adjective, e.g. on Atchin, *Emil Parav* (long), *Emil Maruv* (narrow), *Emil Lap* (great).

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sacrifice" or "to be sacrificed,"[1] and the sanction for the structure's sacredness is the human sacrifice which, together with the sacrifice of tusked boars, forms an essential feature of the consecration rite performed when it is built.[2]

It would appear, therefore, that the word *ghamal*, or *amal*, as used either for the dancing-ground or for the roofed structure associated with it, should properly be rendered "Place of Sacrifice."

The numerous functions of the *ghamal* will appear during the course of this work. It will suffice here to mention some of the most important. We have already noted its sacredness to men, that is to say to those who have performed the Maki rite, and have thus during their lifetime taken on some of the holiness of ancestors. Each man has his own place,[3] marked by his sleeping-mat (*tambaghar*) and by his earth-oven, at which either he or his sons cook his meals. Here all those who have performed the chief Maki sacrifice must sleep during the thirty-day period following the rite, eating of food specially cooked by their wives, though the most elaborate precautions are taken that this food shall not come into contact with that eaten by women.[4] Warriors also sleep in the *ghamal* before intended battle. Here also are made the masks and other perishable objects used in the special dances called *na-leng*,[5] and new gongs are hollowed out, accompanied by magic formulae. The most important feasts connected with the Maki are held here, and all decisions come to with regard to Maki rites. Here also debates are held at night, or when it rains, and young men are instructed by their elders in the history of the tribe.

End-to-end dancing-grounds.

It has been said above that each village has but one dancing-ground. This statement is true of all Vao villages with the exception of Peter-ihi, which has two dancing-grounds placed end to end. While in all other cases the dancing-ground goes by the same name as the village, the two dancing-grounds of Peter-ihi are called by different names, respectively *Etine* and *Norolu*. A similar arrangement is found in the Atchin village of Olep, where, however, one is called by the same name as the village, *Olep*, and the other *N'amal Para*, or "New Dancing-ground," of which Olep is the socially superior, and the "New Dancing-ground" the inferior.

This curious arrangement is explained by the natives to be due to historical reasons such as that accounting for the foundation of the double-

[1] Cf. the Indonesian *pamali, pemali, pomali*, meaning "sacred or taboo," used especially in connexion with the tabular sacrificial stone called *batu pomali* (similar to the sacrificial dolmen erected during the Vao Maki), closely connected with the Kakihan Society of West Ceram, which Deacon takes to be the prototype of Melanesian secret societies (Deacon, 1, p. 340).

[2] This rite, a special form of Maki, is fully described in Chapter XVI, where a detailed description of the building is also given.

[3] *Meleleku*, "l'endroit où je couche" (Godefroy, 1, 1933, p. 36).

[4] See p. 400.

[5] See p. 337.

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CHAPTER XVI

MAKI FOR THE ERECTION OF A GHAMAL OR LODGE; WOMEN'S MAKI

MAKI FOR THE ERECTION OF A GHAMAL

INTRODUCTION

IT may have struck the student of graded society ritual in the New Hebrides that practically no mention has so far been made regarding the construction of a club-house or Lodge such as is customary for the higher ranks in many neighbouring districts. The only reference made to it so far has been that dealing with the construction of the existing *ghamal* at Pete-hul on p. 415, where it was seen that the rites connected with it are themselves regarded as a special kind of Maki, that they were performed, like the Maki, by only one of the two "lines" or marriage classes within the village, and that they took several years to perform.

Further enquiry elicited the information that a Maki for a *ghamal* was even more important, and took longer to perform than even the combined rites of High and Low Maki that have just been described; and this statement was borne out by the fact that, though the Maki for the existing *ghamal* at Pete-hul was started by Ma-taru's "line" while he was quite a small boy, by the time it was completed all those who had originally set it in motion, namely his classificatory fathers' fathers, had died and he himself was a grown man already wearing a bark-board belt. On this evidence, the complete rite must have taken at least fifteen years to perform.

The great importance of the rite is shown also by the fact that the only case of purely ritual human sacrifice unconnected with warfare that I recorded on Vao took place in connexion with the consecration of a *ghamal*, probably that which preceded the existing structure.[1]

As will be seen from Plate VII, a *ghamal* is a very large and durable building, with its main timbers made from the trunks of the hardest available forest trees. No wooden structure can last indefinitely in the tropical climate of Malekula, and it is necessary from time to time to construct a new one. Such reconstruction need not, however, be the occasion for making a Maki, for, when a *ghamal* rots, it may be rebuilt on the same site without being reconsecrated, and therefore without necessitating a Maki. From

[1] See p. 451.

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time to time, however, when the village is prosperous or, as the natives say, "strong," and rich in tusked boars, they say, "Let us make a Maki for a new *ghamal*." Once this has been decided on, they choose a new site, close to the old one behind the Upper Side of the dancing-ground, and during the ensuing Maki each and every part of the structure, as it is set up, must be paid for to the members of the introducing "line," accompanied by sacrifice of innumerable tusked boars, and in the end the whole building is consecrated by the yet further sacrifice of tusked boars of very high grade. Finally, two dolmens are set up, one at either end of the structure, and during the consecration of these the "line" of Maki-men responsible for the erection of the *ghamal* and dolmens are themselves consecrated through sacrifice, take new titles and names, and light new fires as at High Maki.

Before giving what details I have concerning the rites, it is necessary to give an account of the actual construction, each part of which is consecrated and paid for as it is set up.

CONSTRUCTION OF A GHAMAL[1]

Each village has but a single *ghamal*, which is by far the most solidly erected building in it. The recently erected *ghamal* in Pete-hul, called *Ber hangawul* in honour of its ten great centre-posts,[2] is 94 feet long and some 15 feet high.

The *ghamal* is built close behind the Upper Side of the dancing-ground, and in the village of Pete-hul holds a commanding position on the rising ground behind the stone-platforms. There is no rule regarding orientation, as may be seen from Sketch-map IV, which gives the position of the new *ghamal* and of the old one which it replaced, both of which face in different directions.

The main timbers are the centre-posts, called *na-mber(u)* meaning "posts," or more specifically *ber tur*, "standing posts," made of the trunks of hardwood trees, of which, in the existing *ghamal* at Pete-hul, there are as many as ten. These are all cut so as to leave a fork at the apex, on which rests the ridge-pole, called *wombat*. On this in turn, at each gable-end, rests an immense image of a hawk with outstretched wings, made from the buttress roots of a large tree. At the rear end, called *bughute*,[3] both ridge-pole and hawk-image are supported by the rear centre-post, but at the front end, called *no-ghon ne-him*, "face of the house," the ridge-pole projects beyond the front centre-post, and ridge-pole and hawk-

[1] For comparison, see Deacon's account of house and Lodge building in Seniang (Deacon, 4, pp. 31-4).

[2] *Ber* means "post" (see below), and *hangawul* means "ten."

[3] Or *bughte ne-him*.

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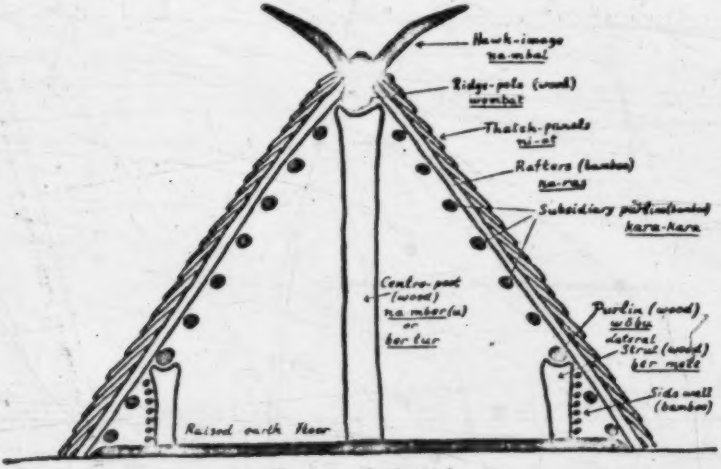
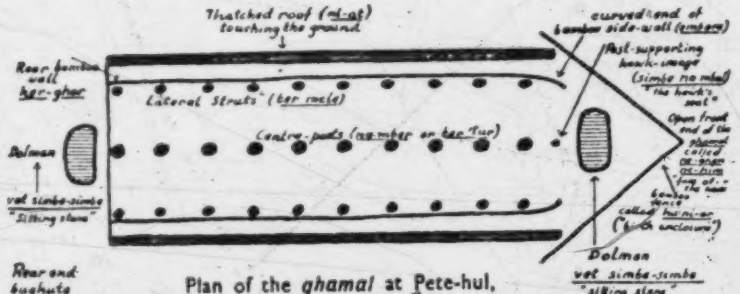
image are both supported by a supplementary post called *simbe na-mbal*, meaning "seat of the hawk."

Parallel with the centre-posts and on either side of them are an equal number of lateral struts (*ber mele*),[1] made also of hardwood. These



Section of *ghamal*
(the hawk-image would not appear in section, but only at either end)



Plan of the *ghamal* at Pete-hul,
called *Ber hangawul* meaning "Ten Centre-posts"
(the roofed portion is 94 feet long; the apex
of the roof is about 15 feet high)

FIG. 53

[1] *Ber*, as we have seen, means "post." I am not sure of the meaning of *mele*, which may be connected either with the word *melele*, sleeping-place or any horizontal object (the wooden purlins they support are in Atchin called *melolop*), or with *mel* meaning "cycas" and referring to the cycas leaves with which these purlins are wrapped round.

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lateral struts in turn support horizontal wooden purlins called *wōbu* (apparently a modified form of the word *wombat*, used for ridge-pole), which are wrapped round with cycas leaves (*ro mel*) [1] kept in place and hidden from view by a serving of plaited coconut sinnet (*na-wūn*) [2] wound round each purlin for the whole of its length.[3] The process of serving the purlins is called *ra to-to ghore wōbu*.

Reaching from the ridge-pole to the ground, and supported a third of the way up by the wooden purlins, are the numerous bamboo rafters (*na-ras*), to the interior aspect of which subsidiary bamboo purlins (*kara-kara*) are lashed to keep them more securely in place. The rafters in turn support the thatch, previously prepared by the women in panels about four feet long and three feet deep made by bending quantities of thatch-palm leaves (*ni-at*) over canes of a kind called *ne-limbe rārāh* and pinning them together by means of short lengths of split bamboo called *ne-wirōh*. These canes supporting the thatch-panels are lashed to the rafters in tiers, at intervals of a few inches, so that the leaves of each panel overlap many others, thus forming a thick layer of thatch (*ni-at*) which effectively keeps out the most torrential rains. The front and rear ends of the thatch are neatly rendered by means of further split bamboos pinning the overlapping panels together, a process called *ra wirōh tāre*, "we pin them strongly." At the apex of the roof, where the two sets of panels join, is placed a coping made out of pieces of old canoes, turned upside down to keep out the rain. This coping is called *tambu rōini*.

At ground-level the rain is further kept out by raising the earthen floor of the *ghamal* about six inches or a foot above the level of the ground outside, done after the erection of the centre-posts and struts, but before the placing of the rafters.

When the roof is in place, a low interior side-wall, not more than two feet high, is constructed of horizontal bamboos along each side of the *ghamal* to cut off the angle formed by the roof where it touches the ground to keep out the draught and to provide a finish to the space within. An optionable feature of these side-walls (the right to include which must be paid for to some previous "owner") is that they may, as in the existing *ghamal* at Pete-hul, be made to curve inward at both ends in the manner called *e mbere*, meaning "it curves." A yet further embellishment (the right to use which must also be bought) consists in covering the ends of the purlins, where the side-walls curve round, with split bamboos inserted under the lashing of coconut sinnet and projecting slightly, thus giving a delicately shining appearance to the ends.

The main features of this building are similar, though on a much

[1] *ro* = leaf; *mel* = cycas.
[2] All major lashings in house construction are made of coconut sinnet.
[3] I do not know whether the cycas wrapping is to make them sacred, or immune from the effects of the damp atmosphere, or both.

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grander scale and with the exception of the hawk-images, struts, purlins and side-walls, to those used in the construction of all types of house on Vao, and the terms used for them are also the same. Whereas all private dwelling-houses are closed in at both ends, however, those of the *ghamal*, which is a place of public assembly, rarely slept in except on ritual occasions, are left open, and the *ghamal* has only a low wall of horizontal bamboos from two to three feet high running across the rear end, while at the front end a similar low bamboo wall projects at an angle from either side beyond the space covered by the roof, forming a triangular forecourt. Of these, the rear wall is called *her ghor*, the usual word for closing the end of a house, but the fence forming the triangular forecourt in front is called *hu ni-ar*, which is the same as that used for the fence surrounding the "birth enclosure" containing the women's maternity Lodges, and also for the screen hiding the sacred monuments both in High and Low Maki up to the moment of the great sacrifice. In the case of the *ghamal* I was told that this fence was constructed solely to keep out the pigs. This is, however, doubtful, for, as we shall see during the account of the consecration rites, two immense sacrificial dolmens are set up, one in front of the *ghamal* and one at the rear (see Plate VII). Of these two, that at the rear is not protected at all, being outside the rear fence. The fence called the "birth enclosure," which, on the other hand, forms the forecourt in front of the *ghamal*, is so constructed for the sole purpose of containing the front dolmen, and hides it from view in precisely the same manner as it conceals the sacred stone in the dancing-ground during the Maki rite, and there is little doubt that it is for this reason that it bears this name.

THE RITES

DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS

A Maki performed for the construction of a *ghamal* is called *maki ne-him*, "Maki for a house" (possibly in its extended sense meaning "village"). My account of the accompanying rites is much briefer than that of those connected with the more usual type of Maki already described, and is therefore much less complete. Like those for the more usual Maki performance, however, they appear to be divided into two parts:

(*a*) the construction and consecration of the actual building,
(*b*) the erection and consecration of the two dolmens placed at either end.

These two parts do not appear to correspond to the division of the other rite into High and Low Maki, but rather more to the two types of sacrifice performed at the culminating point of Low Maki, namely the mass sacrifice of boars tied to stakes (corresponding to the posts of the

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ghamal) and the sacrifice of individual tuskers at the dolmen. This suggested parallel was not to my knowledge made by the natives, but results from an examination of the material after I had left the island, and the matter is one for future investigation. In any case, there is one considerable discrepancy, namely that while at Low Maki both types of sacrifice are performed on one day, in the Maki for a *ghamal* they form two distinct parts of the ritual separated from one another by an interval of several years.[1]

Part I. Erection and Consecration of the Ghamal

(*a*) Felling and transporting the centre-posts

Velal danced.

As for the big Maki rite, proceedings open with the dancing of *Velal* by all villages in rotation. Then follows the weeding of the dancing-ground, accompanied by the distribution of food for which no return is expected and the resulting feast of the type called *masean*, while at the same time message-yams are sent round to all the villages on the island with the announcement that the Maki for a *ghamal* has now begun.

As in the big Maki rite the next act takes place on the mainland, where trees are sought for the construction of gongs, so in the Maki for a *ghamal* it is on the mainland that the hardwood trees grow that are required for the construction of the great centre-posts supporting the roof. In the case of the existing *ghamal* at Pete-hul the trees used for this purpose were of the kind called *na-tor*.

Trees felled without burning by men of introducing "line." Special sacrifice and feast for first tree so felled.

[313] The trees are not burnt as they are for the gongs, but are felled while still green. The work is done by the men of the introducing "line." Separate days are allotted for the felling of each tree, and, after felling the first, workers and Maki-men all return to the old *ghamal*, where 100 attached-yams and lone-yams as well as numerous coconuts and other food-stuffs are laid out for the workers, and a crescent-tusker is sacrificed. These, including the sacrificed tusker, are all given to the members of the introducing "line," namely the Maki-men's "fathers" and "sons." These then return to the Maki-men a certain proportion of the yams, and both Maki-men and their "fathers" and "sons" cook and feast together in the *ghamal*, only the latter, however, eating the pig.

[1] Another possible discrepancy is that, though the Maki-men are themselves sanctified and take new titles and names on sacrificing at the dolmens, I do not know whether they are so sanctified also when the actual building is set up.

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For the remaining trees intended for use as centre-posts (that is to say, in the case of the Pete-hul *ghamal*, the remaining nine trees) the same procedure is followed, except that no pig is sacrificed, and instead of feasting in the old *ghamal* the members of each Quarter retire to eat either in their own Quarter or "Side of the Lodge" buildings or else in their own men's dwelling-houses.

The same procedure is repeated when felling the trees for each of the 20 lateral struts.

Trimming and transportation to Small Island.

I have no record of the rites accompanying the trimming of the logs or of their transportation from the mainland, but these probably follow much the same lines as those performed during the corresponding portions of the Gong-Raising rite.[1]

When all the logs have been safely transported to the Small Island and have been allowed sufficient time to dry out, preparations are made for the great day on which they are to be dragged up to the village. The leading man of the rite then announces that he has a tusked boar of specified high grade ready for sacrifice, and invites all the men of the village to a feast in the old *ghamal*. Here "counters" are distributed for the provision of yams. A new yam-table is then erected in the dancing-ground, and each man who has promised to provide a given quantity of yams sets about the work of fulfilling this arduous and expensive obligation. When the agreed number of yams has been duly collected and all other necessary preparations have been made, a day is appointed for hauling all the posts up to the site on which the new *ghamal* is to be built.

Each centre-post has an "owner."

Each centre-post has what I have termed an "owner," that is to say a man who, with his family, makes himself responsible for it, and for the sacrifices and food-distributions accompanying its erection. Each "owner" of a post now invites the men of a given Vao village or section of a village to assist him in the work, the whole adult male population of the island being thus portioned out for work connected with one or other of the posts, and for all these a food-distribution, said to be of the *masean* variety, is made on the beach.

Posts hauled to dancing-ground. Rites similar to those for dolmen and large monolith in High and Low Maki.

The ritual accompanying the hauling of the posts up to the dancing-ground is almost precisely the same, with minor exceptions, as that

[1] See pp. 350-2.

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accompanying the dragging up of the table-stone for the dolmen in Low Maki and of the large monolith in High Maki. That is to say that, as each post is being dragged up, the workers sing songs of the *Settling-Down* cycle. As they approach the dancing-ground the gongs strike up the rhythms proper to the chief song-and-dance cycle performed during the Maki for a *ghamal*, namely *Veluas Ne-mbak*.[1] The workers then burst into songs of this cycle, while the most important Maki-men (probably the "owners" of the posts) dance in a serpentine course from one side of them to the other, wearing for the occasion in the back of their belts croton leaves of a kind called *ro sas ne-mbal*, "croton leaves (dedicated to) the hawk." As each post arrives in the dancing-ground it is consecrated by the sacrifice of a boar, but whether this is done by dashing the boar's head against the post as in the case of the table-stone for the dolmen in Low Maki and for the large monolith in High Maki was not stated. The workers then retire home to their own village, taking with them numerous yams and other food-stuffs previously laid out for them in the dancing-ground, and also the sacrificed boar, which they subsequently eat.

Preliminary consecration of all posts in dancing-ground.

When all the posts have been thus dragged up, a process probably lasting for weeks or even months, a day is appointed for their yet further consecration *en masse*. Yams are laid out in the dancing-ground in heaps for each village on the island, and the gongs are then sounded with the summoning signal called *ragh-ragho ne-laus*. Parties from all the villages then assemble in the dancing-ground. The members of the home-village then drag in numerous tusked boars, which are then sacrificed, and placed with the heaps already laid out. Each worker then receives one or more money-mats as payment. The Speaker then makes a speech lauding their work and the glory of the construction in which they are taking part, and then dismisses them with the usual formulae,[2] ending with the command to stand up, whereon they arise and he pronounces the final word "*Ia*," to which they reply "*Laus-a*," and depart, taking with them the sacrificed animals. When they have gone, the sacrificial signal called *ne-mbe asar* is sounded on the gongs.

Next morning the members of the introducing "line" drag the posts up from the dancing-ground to the site chosen for the new *ghamal* behind the Upper Side. Here they remain lying for a period lasting perhaps several years, till a sufficient number of fresh boars have been reared or traded for to provide sacrifices and food for the workers during the actual construction of the building.

[1] Taking the place of *Taur Ne-mbak* in Low Maki and of *Tauro* in High Maki, see pp. 330, 334.
[2] See p. 371.

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(*b*) ERECTION AND CONSECRATION

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After this interval of one, two or even more years, during which time the posts will have time to become well seasoned and new stocks of pigs and other provender have had time to accumulate, if the old yam-table has rotted a new one is made, and, whether this is done or not, "counters" are distributed for the provision of the yams needed for the ensuing feasts.

Front centre-post erected and consecrated by burying a high-grade tusker beneath it. Whole ghamal consecrated in this way.

When all is ready, a day is appointed for the erection of the front post, and for its consecration, which at the same time constitutes the consecration of the whole building, only eclipsed by the final great sacrifice made when the two dolmens are erected at either end in the second part of the rite. The act of setting up the post is called *ra ghel ne-him*, "We (begin to) build the house." Members of all the Vao villages assist in the work.

For a brief account of the consecration rite, which I did not myself record, I will quote Godefroy, who says: "Its consecration consists in this:—Beneath one of the two great posts which form the façade of the structure [1] they used to bury a sacred boar, and danced all night in honour of the *ghamal*. For this *ghamal* had been ennobled by the sacrifice, and had taken on the rank of the sacrificial boar." [2]

Further, "the boar which is sacrificed for a *ghamal* is usually a *Meltek* [i.e. of the rank I spell *Melteg*]; sometimes, however, if a clan numbers among its members one or two [men of the grade] *na-humbe se*, they will sacrifice a boar of this rank, and, by virtue of this act, the *ghamal* itself takes the same rank.

"The first result produced by this acquisition of rank is that the *ghamal* is rendered taboo, that is to say that no woman may henceforth enter inside, nor yet touch it, nor even pass immediately in front of it or in fact go anywhere near. She must henceforth give it a wide berth, as she would when meeting certain relatives on a path.[3]

"The second result is this: when a *ghamal* ages, when time crumbles its ageing roof, and when it has finally been abandoned it must be left to fall and rot, in other words to die undisturbed. Therefore, not even men may remove the least piece of wood, the smallest twig from its carcass, its gaunt wooden skeleton. It has been consecrated and remains so; it is taboo even unto its ruin, unto its dust, and the place where it was remains always sacred and taboo, because of the boar which had previously been consecrated and which continues to lie buried beneath the spot where the principal post was put up." [4]

[1] By this he means apparently the front and rear posts.
[2] Godefroy, 1, 1934, p. 54. [3] See p. 135. [4] Godefroy, 1, 1934, p. 55.

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Remaining centre-posts set up. Introducing "line" and all villages paid with tusked boars. Workers paid with money-mats.

On subsequent occasions the remaining posts are set up. Members of all the Vao villages assist in the work, each party erecting the post that it had previously dragged up from the beach. The workers then retire to their respective villages. Meanwhile, the members of each Quarter-Lodge in the home-village have prepared 100 small puddings. These they now portion out between the heaps of yams set out for the workers in the dancing-ground. The gongs are then sounded with the summoning signal called *na-mbe ragh-raghe ne-luw*. Hearing this, the workers, having washed off the signs of their labour and oiled and decorated their bodies, return. 100 pigs are killed and placed beside the yam heaps and puddings. The workers are then paid with money-mats. The men of the introducing "line" are then paid by the Maki-men for the right of erecting the posts, this payment being in the form of live pigs which they keep. Each village, in the person of its leading-man, is similarly paid with a single live pig. The Speaker then makes his usual speech, and, when he has formally dismissed them, the workers return to their own villages with their mats, puddings,[1] yams and pigs. When they have gone, the sacrificial signal is sounded on the gongs for the pigs which have been killed.

On a subsequent day, or days, the lateral struts are similarly erected.

Raising the earth floor.

The next important operation is the raising of the ground-level of the whole *ghamal* about six inches to a foot above the surrounding earth. For this again parties from all villages assemble, and assist in scraping up the surrounding earth with digging-sticks and transporting it to the floor of the *ghamal*. This process is called *ra ker no-woi ne-him*.[2] When this has been done the same payment in live pigs is made to the individual members of the introducing "line" and to the leading man of each village for the right of making the floor as was previously made for the right of erecting the posts. In the same way also the workers are paid with money-mats, the members of each Quarter-Lodge of the home-village make 100 puddings which are placed on heaps of yams and ripe bananas. 100 pigs are killed and placed on the heaps, the workers depart, and the sacrificial signal is sounded on the gongs.

[1] It is possible, though I am not certain of this, that the puddings are consumed on the spot before they go.

[2] I did not obtain a literal translation of this phrase, but *ker* may be the same word as is used in the expression *kere-ram* used for the base of a yam (see p. 181); *no-woi* may be connected with *wohoi*, to plug up a hole (see p. 467).

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Completing the structure.

All parts of the *ghamal*, as they are put up, are made the occasion of similar feasting and distributions of food, and each part is separately paid for with pigs to the members of the introducing "line" and to the leading men of each village.

When the main timbers are in place, the men bring thatch-palm leaves which the women make into the thatch-panels described on p. 442. The day on which these are put up is a strenuous one, as it is a matter of pride that the whole roof shall be completed in one day. Parties from all villages come to assist, and work in relays, each party as it takes a brief rest being regaled with puddings which they eat on the spot. The right to erect the roof is then paid for with numerous live pigs, and the food-distribution is on an even larger scale than before. I have no record of special rites connected with the setting-up of the hawk-image at either end, though such doubtless occur.

Interval of three or four years.

The actual building of the *ghamal*, composing the first part of the rite, is now complete. Its full sanctity, however, is not achieved till the completion of the second part of the rite, when the great dolmens are built at either end and are themselves consecrated with rites even more striking than those celebrated for the *ghamal* itself. There is now, therefore, an interval of three or four years while yet further high-grade tuskers are reared and for the cultivation of fresh stocks of yams.

Part II. Erection and Consecration of the two Dolmens at either End

Description of the dolmens, used as seats during debates.

After an interval of two or three years, the second part of the rite begins. This part is concerned with the setting up of the two great dolmens, one at either end of the *ghamal:* The shape of these dolmens is similar to that of the great dolmen set up for Low Maki with regard to the size of the table-stones, but differs from it in that the supporting stones are not so high, so that these dolmens may be sat on in a way that the dolmen for Low Maki, so far as I know, never is. Thus while, as for the Low Maki dolmen, the whole structure of each dolmen is called *na-vot*, the term used for the table-stone itself, namely *vet simbe-simbe* meaning "sitting-stone," is in the case of the dolmens set up for a *ghamal* more literally true than it is for that set up for Low Maki, which, as I have said, so far as I know, is never sat on at all. Placed as they are at either end of the *ghamal*, these two dolmens are, in fact, used as seats during debates by men of sufficiently high rank to permit themselves that honour.

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Rites similar to Low Maki. Chief dance is Veluan Na-mbak.

The rites accompanying their erection follow almost precisely the same lines as those for Low Maki, differing from these mainly in the facts that

(*a*) there are now two dolmens to be set up instead of one;
(*b*) the whole gamut of operations is on a much more magnificent scale, surpassing even High Maki in the number and quality of boars sacrificed (never, on any important occasion, less than 100 at a time) and in the amount of food-stuffs distributed;
(*c*) the chief dance, taking the place of *Taur Na-mbak* in Low Maki and *Taure* in High Maki, is that called *Veluan Na-mbak*; and that
(*d*) if possible, a human being is secured for sacrifice.

The chief rites are, as for Low Maki:

(i) selecting of the table-stones on the reef, levering them up and dragging them out of reach of the tide;
(ii) dragging the table-stones up to the dancing-ground;
(iii) erecting the dolmens;
(iv) sacrifice at the dolmens, at which Maki-men take new titles and names and light new fires.

DOLMENS, LIKE ALL THINGS, HAVE PERSONAL NAMES

Names learnt in dreams. Those at Pete-hul called Wughi meaning "penis" and Lase meaning "testicle."

Each dolmen is invested with a personal name. Such names are said not to be invented by men, but to be inherent in the stones themselves. Thus, everything in the world, every stone, every tree and every animate or inanimate thing, is said to possess a personal name—"only," as my informant put it, "we do not always know what it is." Thus, no one suspected that the two table-stones used for the existing *ghamal* at Pete-hul had names, until one night an old man of the *La-mbet-ra* Quarter of Pete-hul named Melteg-singo-tutun ("Lord Hot-Lip"), who is now dead, had a dream, and in his dream a ghost came to him and told him their names. These names, by which the two dolmens are now known, are *Wughi*, the name for the dolmen in front of the *ghamal*, and *Lase*, for the dolmen at the rear. It is difficult for us to believe that these names were inherent in the stones before their use was decided on, since they so exactly carry out the conception of the *ghamal* as a sanctified male human being, for *Wughi* means "penis"[1] and *Lase* is the word used for "testicle."[2]

[1] Cf. *wohin*, "glans penis," p. 508, note 2.
[2] An interesting case of what were originally, and still are, essentially female symbols being converted to represent the male generative organs, corresponding with the change from matrilineal to overt patrilineal descent.

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Penalty for neglecting communion rite with ancestors of owners of the land on which they are found. 796X

At the outset of the rite, when the two table-stones were being levered off from the surrounding reef, some difficulty was experienced in getting *Wughi* free. The reason was that *Wughi* was found on land belonging to the now almost extinct community of Lavame, of which at that time only a single survivor remained. As we have already seen,[1] the proper course when taking such a stone is to perform first a communion feast (*ghete-ghati*) at the Lodge-building of the owners of the land on which it is found. But there were no longer any survivors of this Lodge. So those who had selected the stone said "Oh! They are all dead. They can't do us any harm," and neglected this duty. Then all the ghosts of Lavame were angry, and caught hold of the stone so that they could not pull it up. Seeing this, those who had been trying in vain to lever it up gave a large untusked pig and a piece of kava root (*malogh*) as compensation (*mbake*) to the only survivor of Lavame, an old man named Melteg-sarane, and thenceforth the ghosts were appeased and no longer hindered them in levering up the stone. 346

Human Sacrifice

Human victim obtained for sacrifice at former ghamal.

The following account of human sacrifice at one of the dolmens at the consecration of a former *ghamal* at Pete-hul was given to me by my informant Ma-taru. This *ghamal* was built by the men of Ma-taru's father's "line." These men had brought from what is spoken of as "higher up" the Malekulan coast, that is to say from the neighbourhood of Unua or Sanbaghe, a young man, for whom they had paid a good price in pigs, with the intention of sacrificing him on one of the dolmens during the consecration rites. Like all victims intended for sacrifice, this young man was referred to as a *ta-mat*, or ghost, even before the sacrifice had taken place. 796X 346 782

Two Pete-hul Quarters deceive two others into not participating in sacrifice. Members of deceived Quarters depart and found mainland village of Le-se-kere.

In the absence of a human victim the sacrifice at each dolmen usually consists of large numbers of tusked boars, and both dolmens are thus consecrated on one day. On this occasion the men of the two southern Quarters called *La-mbarang* (A^1) and *Nalu* (B^2) deceived those of the two northern Quarters, saying, "You go and sacrifice your boars at the rear dolmen," and while these men were thus occupied, they themselves sacrificed the human victim on the front dolmen. This enraged the men of the two northern Quarters, *La-mbet-ra* (B^1) and *La-mbot-na-ninge* (A^2), so much

[1] See p. 364.

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that as a result of the ensuing quarrel the men of one of the *La-mbet-ra* "Sides of the Lodge" called *Na-tavu*, together with those of one of the *La-mbot-na-ninge* "Sides of the Lodge" formerly called *La-mbet-pung*,[1] left Vao altogether and went to the mainland of Malekula. There they are said to have snared 100 flying foxes with a net and to have founded a new village by "making Maki" with these, that is to say by performing the Maki rite and killing the 100 flying foxes instead of boars,[2] and to have called the name of this place Le-se-kere, which means "At the dancing-ground of the flying foxes." That is why the two Pete-hul Quarters in question had after this only one burying-place for greybeards (*mer-sean*), since each had only one "Side of the Lodge" left. Each Quarter, however, later restored its own balance by again splitting into two.

MAKI FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A QUARTER-LODGE OR "SIDE OF THE LODGE"

In addition to a Maki performed for a new *ghamal*, it is possible also to make a Maki for the construction of a new Quarter-Lodge or "Side of the Lodge," at the consecration of which, as for a *ghamal*, those building it also become sanctified and take new titles and names. The name used for the Lodge by my informant on this occasion was *n'ime na vevean*. The phrase is a suggestive one, since *n'ime* means "house" and *veve*, of which *vevean* would be the natural nominal form, in Mota means "matrilineal moiety." I have unfortunately no information regarding the rites performed at such a Maki, apart from the fact that it is performed by the members of one *woroan* at a time, thus strongly suggesting that the word *woroan* as so used is equivalent to marriage section or "line."

WOMEN'S MAKI

MAKI FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A WOMEN'S LODGE

Women sacrifice and take new titles and names in their own right.

Yet another type of Maki is that performed for the erection of the Women's Lodges referred to on p. 47, in which women themselves sacrifice pigs and thereby are sanctified and take new titles and names. This is the only direct evidence I have as to the existence of a Women's Maki on Vao. I do not know whether this is the only type of Maki

[1] See p. 69, Map IV. The *La-mbet-pung* here referred to is not the existing Lodge of that name belonging to *Nalu*, but a Lodge of the same name formerly belonging to *La-mbot-na-ninge*.

[2] Sacrificing other animals or insects instead of boars is a common feature in semi-mythical accounts See pp. 284, 579.

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they perform. It is quite possible that there are others. All I can say is that this is the only one that I recorded, and even about this my information is unfortunately meagre.

We have already seen how, during the men's rites, immediately after the mass sacrifice in both High and Low Maki, the Maki-men retire to invest their wives, mothers and daughters with complimentary titles.[1] Of these complimentary titles the most important are those bestowed on the wives. The most important duties devolve also on the wives, and in the only case I have so far recorded in which women sacrifice pigs, namely at the end of the men's voluntary periods of restriction on the 50th or the 100th day after the Maki, it is again the wives of the Maki-men who, after a purifying bathe, perform this sacrifice.[2] These facts demonstrate the great importance of the wife in the men's Maki ritual. It is important to note, however, that the titles conferred on them during these rites are complimentary, and are not taken in their own right.

In the Maki performed for the construction of a Women's Lodge in which women sacrifice and take new titles and names in their own right, it is significant that the women on whom this honour devolves are again the Maki-men's wives. I am unfortunately quite ignorant of what connexion, if any, there is between these two sets of facts, and can only record the bare information I received.

This is, that some time after the men's Maki, the Maki-men build a new Lodge for their wives, which the men subsequently are not allowed to enter, and during the consecration of which the wives sacrifice their own pigs[3] and thereby, in their own right, take their new titles and names. The title thus taken by each woman is *Le-tete*, and the Lodge is itself therefore called *n'ime na tetean*, meaning "house of the *tete*." This title is quite different from any other woman's title recorded elsewhere in the New Hebrides, and is interesting in that the word *tete* is that used in Vao according to my information for the father, but according to Godefroy for the mother's brother.[4] Whether there is a direct connexion between Godefroy's account of the use of this word and the title *Le-tete* I do not know, but it is significant that the name which each woman takes along with her title is that of her own brother. It will be remembered that, of the three female relatives receiving complimentary titles in the men's Maki, while a Maki-man's daughters and mother all take the Maki-man's own name, the wife takes, not his, but her brother's. Whether there is any connexion between the title *Le-tete* and the dance called *Le-tean* during which personal songs in honour of individual Maki-men are sung, I do not know.

[1] See p. 394. [3] See p. 406.

[2] Whether the pigs thus sacrificed by women are boars or sows, tusked or untusked, gelded or ungelded, I am unable to say.

[4] See p. 127.

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The whole question of women's rites needs much fuller investigation. I have unfortunately no more information about them, except to call the reader's attention to the women's dolmens mentioned on p. 731.

One word only remains to be said regarding the sociological function of these Lodges. It was expressly stated by my informant that, while other women might enter the Lodge, only those of one *woroan* may sacrifice at its consecration. Since the Maki-men themselves all belong to one "line" or marriage section, it follows that their wives all belong to another, so that, as with the use of the word *woroan* in connexion with the construction of a Quarter-Lodge cited above, it would appear that the word as used here means marriage section, applied here to the female members of that section from which the Maki-men take their wives.

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where I myself had the good fortune to witness most of the rites, I was assured that this terminology did not indicate actual homosexual union, and the same is true of Vao where, though the novice does indeed sometimes speak of his tutor as his "husband," the more usual term used is *to-mbat na-nuk*, "my *to-mbat*," to which the tutor reciprocates by calling the novice *mov ghal na-nuk*, "my novice."

On the other hand, as will be seen below, the novices are being constantly threatened with homosexual attacks by ghosts, and in so far as during the hoaxes the tutors and other initiates often take the part of ghosts they may be said to have at least a spiritual connexion of this nature.

THE RITES

1. PREPARATORY PERIOD: ERECTION OF INITIATION HOUSE

Owing to the large number of pigs, yams, bananas and other produce required for the rite, and to allow time for the building of a special initiation house, it is customary to announce the coming performance a year before the actual operation is expected to take place.

This house, built just behind the Upper Side of the dancing-ground,[1] is called *n'ime na-mbagho*, "Initiation House," in modest contrast to the grander style of "Initiation Lodge" employed on Atchin and in North Malekula,[2] thus marking its closer connexion with the older and simpler form of the rite. Here, after the operation, the novices will sleep for thirty days, have their wounds tended by their tutors, and undergo ordeals and hoaxes. Here also, after the thirty days are over, they will continue to sleep till opportunity arises for them to undertake the overseas voyage for the purpose of Initiation into Sex.

Novices and Tutors are beaten.

The whole preliminary period is occupied with the assembly of materials for, and the construction of, the initiation house. This provides opportunity for numerous pleasantly exciting journeys to the mainland, whence most of the materials are fetched.

Now also occurs the first foretaste of the trials of initiation in that on every such occasion, both when the materials are landed on the beach and when later they are transported to the dancing-ground, not only the novices but also their tutors are beaten with sticks by the older initiates. These beatings henceforth become a feature of each and every act connected with initiation during the preparatory period before the actual operation. Whether this be the landing on the beach of bamboo rafters

[1] See Map IV.

[2] In these places the words for Initiation Lodge are:
Atchin *lol-hamal*.
Big Nambas *na-ghamal bagho*.
Lambumbu *na-amel na-av-avien* or *na-mur-mur*.
All these contain variants of the word *ghamal* as opposed to the Vao *n'ime*, "house."

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brought from the mainland, or the cutting and transporting of logs for centre-posts and ridge-pole, or the bringing of palm leaves for thatching, on all these and hundreds of other occasions both noviees and tutors are beaten.

As each major object for the construction of the initiation house is landed or brought up from the beach to be deposited in the dancing-ground, the novices with their tutors dance and sing songs belonging to the processional song-and-dance cycle called *Na-rel*, and when the elder "unmarried" initiates hear the procession approaching they flock down to the beach and line the road, to beat them. The attitude of the tutors is a mixture of severity, insisting on the due performance of the rite, and of kindly humour towards the novices who are at the same time in most cases their own classificatory younger brothers. Though it is true that the tutors are beaten too, their beating is as a rule not so severe as that of the novices, and, in any case, they are older and better able to bear it. This mixture of intimacy and hoaxing is well seen in the constant appeals made by the novices, who beg "Don't let's make so much noise. If only we didn't sing all the time they wouldn't know, and wouldn't come to beat us." But the tutors, remembering their own past sufferings and being in no mind to spare the younger generation, sing on, and attract the blows not only on the novices, but also on themselves.

Once this indignity is over, however, and the materials duly deposited in the dancing-ground, the occasion assumes the aspect of any ordinary rite. A pig is killed, message-yams are sent to all the other dancing-grounds on Vao with the announcement that this part of the rite has been duly performed, and the gong-signal most closely associated with initiation, called *na-mbe ne-ôs-ôs*,[1] is sounded.

When all the materials have been collected the initiation house is finally erected. This takes several days, with long intervals between them. The same beatings and ritual are performed, but on a grander scale, and on each occasion when the work is finished the novices and their tutors feast off puddings made by the novices' mothers.[2]

[1] Compare this with the name given to the whole rite on the Superior Side of Atchin, namely *baho n'ôs-ôs* (p. 499), and see possible explanation of the word given on p. 312.

[2] On Atchin, at every stage in the erection of the Initiation Lodge, a temporary hut is made to represent the Lodge, in which the leading initiate sits. Each novice, accompanied by his tutor, is then made to approach down a specially constructed leafy way to the door of the hut, at the entrance to which they are both beaten by "unmarried" initiates standing on either side. Inside, the leading man addresses the candidate, telling him that he has hitherto been only a woman, but will now soon become a man, and purposely confuses him by presenting him with a mock imitation of the centre-post or ridge-pole, or whatever object is about to be erected, which the novice has to attempt to manipulate while at the same time being prevented from so doing by some trick—a foretaste of the more serious hoaxes after the operation. No mention was made of this in the account of the Vao rite, and it may be one of the many additional refinements that have not yet reached this island.